/138 cont./

342 bushes and dispense altogether with any construction.

Tree houses are unknown. In any case, they would be possible only in the Kaukau Veld (baobab), since in the Auin region proper the trees are too weak for this purpose.

Each woman has her own windscreen. If she does not have one, she will live under a special bush.

[882] Young girls and young unmarried men sometimes live in special "girls' houses" or "bachelors' houses," separated according to sex.

34 Any kind of special buildings, like meeting houses, storage rooms, and so forth, are unknown.

514 There is little neatness in the vicinity of the huts. Special toilets do not exist. The sole consideration with regard to evacuation is to be hidden from sight. One finds great accumulations of feces away from the main direction of the wind. The practice of burying excrement, common among the Herero, apparently does not occur.

768 The pontok (windscreen) is by no means a valuable possession. After the owner's death the entire horde leaves the locality. Hence any question about the inheritance of the hut is an empty one.

342 There is no door, and it would not be easy to attach one, considering the construction of the hut. In this connection it should be mentioned that things are left carelessly lying around in the settlements, even when all the people are absent. In any 685 case a theft would be paid for with the death of the thief. Since [151] the Bushman knows the footprints of every person in the region, the culprit would always be found. In this respect the Bushman operates as reliably as the best police dog.

352 They lie upon grass covered with a few tanned hides. There 513 are no other household furnishings.

/139/ C. Food

372 The doro (fire-making instrument) (Fig. 1) consists of two round sticks of the Burkea africana. Several round, flat hollows

[Text continues on page 10]

/139/

372
411

Fig. 1 Fig. 2 Fig. 3

Fig. 1. Doro (fire sticks)
A. Twirling stick
aa, Long part
b, Rounded end to be put in bored holes
B, Stick with bored holes
cc, Long part
ddd, Bored holes

Fig. 2. Stick with tree resin to glue the wrapping on the arrow
a, Stick
b, Tree resin

Fig. 3. Stick with arrow poison
a, Stick
b, Spindle of poison, which is wrapped

1/2 natural size
[as shown in original text]

/139 cont./

●372 are made in one of the sticks, and the rounded end of the other stick fits into them. [Figs. 1, 2, and 3 appear here.]

The first stick is placed on the ground and held down with both feet. The other stick is placed with its round end in one of the hollows, and it is twirled as rapidly as possible between the flat palms of the hands. As can be seen in the picture Photo. 19), the hands slide downward during this process, and frequently a second man immediately starts at the top when the hands of the first operator have moved all the way down. A kind of tinder of thoroughly dried birds' nests (weaver bird?) is placed around the bored hole. The fine dust from the twirling begins to smoulder after a few minutes, and the tinder is then fanned to a flame by blowing with the mouth.

[622] The "captain" (aichab) of the settlement sees to it that the fire does not go out. A "sacred" fire does not exist. Keeping the fire from going out is a matter of sheer practicality since twirling to make fire is, after all, fairly strenuous.

354 A few stones, which, incidentally, are not found everywhere in the Kalahari, represent the hearth. In rainy weather cooking is done inside the windscreen.

462 The woman does the cooking while the children help her. In exceptional cases the paterfamilias may busy himself at the cooking fire.

On occasion all the members of a family will go out to get water and wood. Construction of the house is purely woman's work. Bachelors' huts are likewise built by the women of the horde.

415 Wooden cooking pots exist. Supposedly they are obtained
439 through barter from the Ambo.

The Auin either carves primitive spoons out of wood himself,
322 or he obtains them through barter from the region of the Ngami
415 [Lake Ngami?]. Frequently special artists at carving are to be
[439] found among the older men. The upper, concave part of a
415 small turtle shell, whose lower, flat side has been cut off, often
[321] serves as a spoon.

These shells are also used as drinking vessels, and, along with hollowed-out tschama, they are the only drinking vessels that I found.

/152 cont./

415 Mortars and pestles, as well as spoons of wood, are made (see Photo. 18).

[287] Painting and bark working are unknown.

171 The preparation of hides is the same as that practiced by the
281 Hottentot, Herero, Bergdamara, and Betschuana. Hence, I shall dispense with a description of the process.

The women's cosmetic described above is used to dye cloth-
281 ing made of hides. The dye is rubbed on with the ball of the
386 hand and is comparatively waterproof.

To be sure, it is questionable whether this process may be called "dyeing." The hides are already red from the tanning process, and the cosmetic scarcely changes the color. Perhaps it is better regarded as impregnation or greasing.

386 /153/ The colored stones that are pulverized and mixed with
438 fat to make the cosmetic are dug up near Kaitsaub (45 kilometers south of Gobabis) by the Hai//um Bushmen residing there, and they constitute an article of trade. [Fig. 12 appears here.]

283 The beautiful and durable cordage of the Auin is made of the fiber of a wild agave. It looks so neat and clean that one might suspect its origin to have been in a European rope factory rather than in a Bushman settlement.

The cords are made in various strengths and are used for all kinds of purposes, mainly for the game snares.

Their manufacture is very simple and proceeds very rapidly. The leaf is softened by tapping with a wooden stick, and it is then placed on a firm base. One hand holds a pointed stick or a blunt knife firmly on the leaf, while the other hand draws the leaf against the vertically held knife and toward the body. After this has been repeated several times, the strong fibers remain and are then rolled together into cords of the thickness and length desired.

Industrial use of Bushman cordage does not seem impossible to me.

412 As a drill, the lance point or an iron knife is used, frequently red-hot.

325 Only pieces of iron found accidentally are worked. The extraction of iron from ore is unknown.

Charcoal made from the giraffe acacia is the preferred fuel
[372] for ironworking.

[Text continues on page 43]

●972

Auen

Photo. 19.
Manipulation of Device for Firemaking.

291
714

Photo. 21.
War Cap and Peace Cap.

411

Photo. 23.
Throwing
Lance.

/10 cont./

123 Since I was able to become quite friendly with their "foreman," who possesses a small farm, I discovered some details concerning their outlook on life.

776 They believe in a supreme being which is not conceived of as a human being and which they call ǂ'amaba. Here we have H. Vedder's /Gamab of the Bergdama.

773 ǂ'amaba made everything, the sun, the moon, the stars, and also human beings. First he made the Whites, then the Blacks, and finally the Bushmen. They are unable to say how ǂ'amaba made human beings.

●[372] The old Bushmen say that fire comes from the devil.
[776] Heiseb is the devil, according to them. Heiseb and the ostrich played together. The ostrich had the fire on his arm. While dancing the ostrich spread his wings, and Heiseb took the fire from him. Heiseb threw the fire brand behind him. There was a bush which started to burn. And there the people discovered the fire.

776 Heiseb is evil and only does evil. He is conceived as human in form. No one knows where he came from.

ǂ'amaba, on the other hand, is benevolent. People pray to him for help.

I took down the following prayers:

539 782 821 1. Prayer for rain: In olden times pieces of wood were cut from the !Hawewa tree. It could not be felled. These pieces of wood were thrown into the fire, and as soon as the pungent smoke rose upward, the people sang in chorus:

ǂ'amaba duwa /gam-i-i a a God, give water to drink.
ǂ'amaba duwa /gam-i-i !hanusa God, give water rain,
anita(?) a a so that we may drink.

2. Prayer of thanks for rain: When the rain has finally come, a dance of joy is performed, and the following is sung:

ǂ'ámaba ǂ'ámaba ǂ'ámaba God, God, God
tūta tūta We have received, we have received
!hanusa /gam-i-i !hanusa /gam-i-i Rain water, rain water
tara ái /gam ái !hanusa tutasi We can drink, drink water, receive water.

/11 cont./

775 "No spirits of the dead remain on the world; I have never yet seen any spirits, and I tell you only what I know. People talk a lot, but they know nothing." My informant thus concluded his statements concerning the beyond.

778 372 A sacred fire is unknown to the Dama Bushmen.

881 184 A youths' initiation is still performed by the !Kung in the east. Among the Dama it is no longer held. On the other hand, initiations for girls are still held, but they refused to give me any information about the details.

584 Marriage depends upon the free consent of the girl. To be sure, through the persuasion of the parents the girls always say yes. Once the girl has the initiation ceremonies behind her, a suitor soon approaches her to tell her that "she has now grown up and can become a wife." If the girl consents (after consultation with her parents), the suitor goes to his parents. He does not

585 consult his future parents-in-law. The bridegroom must bring a fat ox and a number of goats to the wedding. The parents of the bride likewise kill some animals. The actual ceremony consists of the bridegroom rubbing a thick layer of fat mixed with red ocher over the entire body of the bride, while the men sing:

[539] jejeje jejeje !hawawa !hawawa.

!hawawa means wedding. At the same time, the women and girls clap their hands.

177 Bantu influence is already strongly apparent in the mar-

582 riage laws. Thus, it is possible to "marry" even little girls, whom the man keeps with him until they are sexually mature. A

595 man may have as many wives as he wants. The first wife is not consulted when the husband wants to take more wives. My question concerning this matter was met with an outburst of laughter from the yellow-brown circle.

586 It is possible to send a wife away, but this is regarded as improper and indecent, and it is taken as an insult by the wife's relatives.

582 [12] A man can look for a wife wherever he wishes; only marriage with the children of the father's siblings, especially of his sister, is prohibited.

611 The daughter belongs to the family of the man, the son to the family of the wife.

[20 cont.]

648 put themselves under a chief, a Herero half-breed named
621 Krüger, whose position was acknowledged" (see p. 87). "In
622 Naidaus a Bushman leader named Aribib introduced himself, who, like Krüger in the east, was recognized as the captain of the Bushmen in the west" (p. 88).

114 "During the journey of Captain Volkmann in the year 1902 to the Okovanggo, the !Kung Bushmen provided extensive help. Volkmann describes these !Kung in the following manner:
147 'The Bushmen, who are almost totally naked, are very sensitive to the cold. In the morning each Bushman has a burning log in
372 his hand, which he holds close to his chest. The other hand is placed on the shoulder with the upper arm pressed close to the body. At the resting place the log is used immediately to make
481 a fire. When a Bushman walks in front of the horse as leader, he
222 springs with incredible speed, now here and now there, to get a tuber or root out of the ground. Various berries growing on low
276 shrubs are also very popular. Anything that can serve is used as a tobacco pipe: kudu horns, calabashes, hollowed fruit of the Strychnos, old metal cartridge shells, and so forth. Most of all they like to smoke through water, which is never renewed. When they run out of tobacco, they boil the bark of a tree in the thick tobacco water, dry the bark, which has some tobacco taste, and smoke it' " (p. 180).

101 F. Seiner reports the following concerning the divisions
131 of this tribe:

"The Kung, to the best of our present knowledge, are divided into four groups. The western group seems to extend from the Portuguese border near Kurinkuru along the route via Tschitschib to the Omuramba u Owambo and then seems to be bounded by the latter and in the east by the line Nuragas--Blockfontein. The Karakuwisa group bordering them to the east inhabits the valley of the Omuramba u Omatako from Karakuwisa to Blockfontein during the dry season, and during the rainy season also the steppes 100 to 150 kilometers east and west of the Omuramba and the latter itself up to the Kanovlei. The more southerly group extends from the latter in the Omuramba to around Osondema; we shall call these Nog-au, who have already settled in the central Kalahari and can scarcely be classed with

[35 cont.]

222 When all the old women have made their tests, then the children also get some, and the veldkost is, so to speak, made available for general consumption. When a woman has found a spot where
[423] there is a great deal of veldkost, she makes a sign at this spot, and then everything growing there belongs to her. No one will take any of it.

[262] There were and still are a whole assortment of types of
[888] socha veldkost reserved for the old people. [Fig. 3 appears here.]

11. Ergology

Fire

372 The Bushmen believe that there was a time when they had
773 no fire. The following legend tells how they obtained it: "The ostrich had a firebrand under his wing. He, the owl, and Heiseb played together. Then the ostrich took fright at the owl because he thought the owl had horns. He advised all of them to sleep for a little while. When the owl was asleep, he blew at it and saw that it merely had little tufts of feathers and no horns on its head. Thereupon he awakened the two others again and invited them to go on playing. Then Heiseb said: 'Dear ostrich, please wave your wings.' The ostrich did so, and as a result its firebrand fell to the ground. Heiseb picked it up and threw it to the fig tree, and since then man has had fire." -- The narrative probably comes from the legend-circle of the Hei//om Hottentot. Otherwise, Heiseb never appears in !Kung stories. Two pieces of wood from the
372 fig tree are still used occasionally to make fire. For the most part, the most popular devices for making fire are a striking iron and flint; matches are less [36] prized. A pair of fire sticks, the sucking reeds, a few poisoned arrows, and a bird arrow make up the permanent inventory of the quiver.

[36 cont.]

Dwellings

342 The dwelling of the Bushman consists of the simple windscreen, semicircular in form and about 150 centimeters high. On [177] several farms, however, even the Bushmen have taken to building [361] beehive huts in the Herero manner. The windscreens in a settle- [378] ment more or less form a circle, and the socha fire is to be found [372] near the windscreen of the village chief. During warm nights the [513] Bushmen do not sleep under the windscreen but outside it.

372

Fig. 3. Sticks for Firemaking, Kalahari Bushmen (Museum of Ethnology, Lurich).

[42 cont.]
the mother's kin group. One of the tasks of the village chief is the guarding of the socha fire. Socha means pure or sacred or taboo. Foods that are prohibited for certain age groups or for one sex are "socha" for these persons. The word "socha" seems to me to be a very ancient one, or else it is a loan word from another language. Every place has at least two fires: the ordinary one, which is available to everyone, and the socha fire for men only. When the village moves to another place, the family head takes the socha fire along. During the march veldkost is gathered. Once they have arrived at the new place, the family head starts a new socha fire under a tall tree and roasts the veldkost. The boys leave immediately and go hunting, while the women and girls set up the windscreen. Whatever the old man has roasted at the socha fire he is supposed to eat by himself; ordinarily this is what he does. Finally a messenger arrives and announces that a head of large game has been killed. Hours pass; the old man simply remains seated there, while the women and children make themselves comfortable in the new windscreen. [Fig. 15 appears here.] The game is brought to the socha fire, and the meat from the legs and shoulder blade is cut off and given to the women and children, who are never allowed to eat meat from the bone. All the rest is consumed by the men at the socha fire. The village chief also has the task of organizing the celebration for the first veld fruits. The hordes that I visited no longer practice this custom. Vedder has described it for the !Kung of Gaub.

When Lieutenant Fischer rode from Namutoni to the Okovanggo in 1908, the Bushmen everywhere still had a tight organization and a common leader. When Captain François went beyond Grootfontein for the first time, he was given considerable support by the chief of the !Kung Bushmen. It is worthy of note that the famed copper mines of Tsumeb, on which the welfare of Southwest Africa depends to a great extent, were discovered by a Bushman chief (2). Since then the eastern !Kung have not had a

2. He himself was a half-breed.

chief. The northern !Kung supposedly still have one. The oldest chief I heard of was "χ'amme," the lion. He was a great huntsman.

≠AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[77 cont.]

411 into the reed shaft while the other is poisoned. In other cases, the short arrowhead is joined to a bone spindle by means of a connecting piece made of grass, and this bone spindle is in turn fixed into the shaft so that the arrow is tripartite. The arrows are either carried in the quiver already assembled, or the points [78] are kept in small containers of bark or horn closed off at both ends by leather caps. Three bows of the Nogau had lengths [411] of 89, 95, and 100 centimeters. Animal tendons are used.

The battle insigne of the ≠Auin is a war cap made from the [714] hide of the aardwolf. The bow of the Naron is made of Grevia 411 wood and is about a meter long. Not only tendons but also plant fibers are used for the bowstring. The plant strings are a surrogate that the Bushmen are forced to use today due to the lack of game. The bow itself is reinforced at the ends with a binding of tendons or leather.

The arrow shafts resemble those of the ≠Auin, as do the points. The iron points are not removable and are called male. The metal is obtained from the north and is worked cold by the [325] ≠Auin. The Naron themselves make no iron arrowheads. [Fig. 28 appears here.]

Whereas during Kaufmann's time the ≠Auin did not have the kirri, the Naron have it today; its lower end is sharpened to a point so that it can also be used as a digging stick. The Nogau, though not too commonly, have throwing clubs that [411] correspond to those of the Dama and Herero, but are more crudely worked.

Concerning the Naron, Bleek also mentions harpoons with long, composite shafts, which serve to get jumping hares and the like out of their holes. This tool will be described in greater detail under the Dama [untranslated].

372 Like all Bushmen, the Nogau make fire by rubbing two sticks together. The female stick is called Dane-di, the male Dane-≠goa. Firemaking itself is designated as Dalisi, one of the many strange words without clicks that we find among the Nogau.

Bushman wells are likewise used and are called //a-si.

312 The girls have a toy (gai-dum) consisting of several sticks of various kinds, which they wear on the chest. They drum on 524 IT WITH THE FINGERS.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 155]

/257 cont./

276 that has been cut off are very popular. The cut surface of the end of the horn is pressed to the mouth, and the smoke is sucked into the lungs in a deep draught. Very frequently simple cartridges are used as primitive, but nevertheless serviceable tobacco pipes.
[439] Clay pipes, which are not uncommon in the Kaukau Veld, are imported from the Betschuana.

415 /258/ A common kitchen utensil is a large, flat wooden spoon with a bent handle, which, however, is not used to place food in the mouth, but only to fill vessels. The Bushmen eat with
[264] their fingers; they drink their soups from the communal wooden bowl and polish up the rest with a crooked index finger and by licking it out with the tongue.

As pots they use pumpkin [melon?] vessels bound with leather
[482] thongs and carried over the shoulder on sticks.

As a special display object in many a hut one finds a large clay vessel with strong walls and decorated with white bands that
[439] have been notched into it. This vessel is imported from the Ovambo.

● 372 The tools for firemaking command special interest. The Bushman is acquainted with two, the dâni and the //oro.

The dâni (dâ = fire) consists of two wooden sticks, each about 40 centimeters long. The rounded-off end of the one stick fits into a pan-like cavity at the end of the other stick. The edge of the pan is provided with a little opening through which the glowing wood that has been rubbed to tinder can be emptied onto a smooth stone during the fire-twirling. The Bushman can make fire with this tool in less than half a minute.

The other firemaking device known to the Bushmen is the
[439] //oro, a flint with striking ring and tinder box, imported from the Betschuana.

412 A tool that in addition to its use in leather working also serves medical purposes is a pointed iron needle about 20 centimeters long and three millimeters thick, carried in a narrow leather sheath by almost every male Bushman. The needle is used with great skill
[752] for the removal of thorns from the skin, an operation which the Bushman naturally must frequently demand of his medicine man.

482 In addition to the above-mentioned hunting implements, the game snare and game hook, I was shown a wooden staff, approximately one and a half meters long and worked with some skill, which is used for carrying game over the shoulder,

X137 *Grewia retinervis* Burret (4875, 5066) Photograph 31.

!h5: Bushman.....	⊙b5:
ǁganakwe Bushman...	ǁ?ani
ǁgikwe Bushman.....	ǁgani
Naron Bushman.....	ǁgani
Eastern !khũ Bushman	!gwa

A straggly many-stemmed five-foot shrub, sometimes a weak scrambler up to 10 feet high. The stems are half an inch thick at the base, rounded and slightly woolly when young, slightly flattened and glabrous when old, and tough and pliant. Its leavers are alternate, pale green, one and a half inches long and an inch wide, ovate with a pointed tip, toothed, and roughly hairy to the touch. They wither and fall soon after being frosted, but if out of reach of the frost remain on the bushes at least until the end of July. The plant bears spreading yellow flowers half an inch wide, and fruits the size of a pea, with a papery brown skin enclosing a few large pips and some fibrous mealy material. *Grewia retinervis* is closely allied to *Grewia flavescens*, so much so that I doubt whether the two should be considered anything more than varieties of one species. The differences are that *Grewia flavescens* is usually taller, and not so conspicuously veined on the upper surface of the leaves. Mr. B. de Winter, of the National Herbarium, Pretoria, has observed also that its older stems are square in section and those of *Grewia retinervis* are flattened.

Grewia retinervis was scattered over most of the area covered by the expedition, and common in the central Kalahari, specially in open grassy country. It has been recorded from the northern Cape and the Transvaal as well as South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

262 The fruits are edible. They ripen in winter, and have a slightly sweet
[251 taste and a pleasant flavour. They may be stored after being dried, and
252] are then soaked or boiled before being eaten. The crop, if one may judge from the 1955 season, is abundant, and the amount fairly constant for all the bushes. The fruits form an important part of the Bushmen diet,
[146 although little of them appears digestible. The roughage is voided almost
147] unchanged, in enormous faecal masses up to two and a half inches in diameter.

824 The dry stems of this plant nearly always contain the tunnelings of
372 grubs, and the tunnellings are packed with their excreta in the form of a brown, pith-like substance which forms a useful tinder. The Bushmen split the stems down the centre, make a slight depression in the flat surface and use this as a socket for the fire-drill.

X137 *Grewia* sp. aff. *Grewia bicolor* Juss. (5056).

Eastern !khũ Bushman gamak"wɔ:

A slender shrub up to six feet high, with many sparingly branched stems. The leaves are one and a half inches by one inch, very finely toothed, dark green above and pale below, pointed at the tip and rounded at the base. Both surfaces are covered with a fine grayish felt which is thicker on the lower surface. Typical *Grewia bicolor* has wool on the lower surface only. The fruits are the size of a pea, and have a little flesh covering usually one big seed. No flowers were seen.

This is another of the plants with a distribution which begins in the Ghanzi area and extends northwards, and the remarks made as to the distribution and importance of *Grewia flavescens* apply here also.

[262] The fruits are edible.

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

inch long and less than a quarter of an inch wide. No flowers were seen on the expedition, but from herbarium records it is known that they are yellow and tubular and produce papery pods two inches long and half an inch wide. The pods split down their centre when they are mature. 137X

This plant is known from the northern Cape, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa, and was widespread and fairly frequent north and south of Ghanzi.

Although it is not an edible plant it is nevertheless a producer of food, for all the Bushman digging-sticks seen were made from it. The only preparation is that the bark is peeled off, the spines trimmed, and one of the ends cut at a slant. The stick is about four feet long. In sandy soils and for the type of digging usually required it is a more efficient tool than a spade. It may be made to loosen a narrow cylinder of earth, and this cylinder, if a little wider than the object sought, is all that is necessary. With a spade on the other hand it is usually impossible to avoid a funnel-shaped excavation which entails the removal of far more soil. 322 412 824

Catophractes alexandri D. Don (4893) Photograph 52. 137X

!h3: Bushman.....	n!ain!ai
ǁganakwe Bushman...	!ga:!gaba
ǁgikwe Bushman.....	ga:giba:
Naron Bushman.....	n!ain!ai

A five-foot erect silvery bush with opposite leaves, some brightly coloured in the autumn and winter. They often bear slender sharp spines in their axils, which afterwards develop into branches and bear leaves and spines in their turn. The leaves and younger woody parts are covered with a dense white wool, but this afterwards disappears from the woody parts and they become a reddish brown. The flowers, which are about two inches long, are white, trumpet-shaped and showy, and produce a pod covered with short blunt prickles and up to three inches long, dark and woody when mature and splitting down the centre. The seeds have a circular membranous wing round them.

The plant is recorded from Angola, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and the Transvaal. It was fairly frequent south and north of Ghanzi, in patches down the banks of pans, on limestone, and occasionally also on slight slopes in sandy country.

Catophractes alexandri is not a food plant but deserves mention because of its importance in the preparation of food—it is used as a fire-drill together with *Grewia retinervis*, as is described in the notes on that species. 372 412 824

Corallocarpus sphaerocarpus Cogn. (5020, 5138, 5230) Photograph 53. 137X

ǁgikwe Bushman.....	ǁhurugu
Naron Bushman.....	ǁhɔrɔ
Eastern !khû Bushman	ǁhɔrɔ

A very variable plant creeping by means of tendrils over shrubs and low trees, and with sparse leaves, dissected or lobed and rough to the touch, rising in groups or singly from nodes on the rather sappy stem. The leaves are not flat even when perfectly fresh, but inrolled slightly at the margins as though they were beginning to wilt. Three or four sessile half-inch ovoid fruits are borne in a cluster at the nodes as well, which in

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

distribution of the rainfall upon which it is mainly dependent for its food supply.

The Group Fire.

All fire is the property of the chief. The first fire kindled by him is regarded as essential to the welfare of the community. Every man and woman knows how to use the firesticks, but will not, and may not, light a fire with them in the werft as fire-making is a matter of serious import and the chief is the only person who is able to bring forth from it the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off evil and misfortune. The first fire kindled in a new camp is never allowed to die out. As an illustration of this may be cited the practice as it exists among the *Hei-//om* of the Etosha Pan. When among the latter it becomes necessary to move camp, as for example, after a death has taken place, the whole community take up all their goods and chattels and, led by the *geikhoib* (chief), set off in search for a new site to be selected by the latter. Having found a suitable one he places his belongings on the spot on which his own hut is to be erected. His followers, passing on his left, take up suitable places for their huts in like manner. The chief then proceeds to the large tree (*/hei*s) in the centre and kindles a fire underneath it by means of the firedrill (*hei-doros*). Fire from the old encampment or any other source may not be used for this purpose. He next applies *//norab* and *dabas* to the fire by scraping the roots of these plants with his knife over it and, after having done so, lights his pipe with it. This first fire or fire under the tree (*hei-/ais*) is next used by his wife (*gei-khois*) for lighting the fire in front of his hut (*/ou-ais*). The fire is now free for use by the members of the whole group. The men may come and light their pipes from the *hei-/ais* and the women may fetch fire from the */ou-/ais* for kindling their own. Thereafter the latter may proceed with the erection of the huts. Should the *hei-/ais* go out, as sometimes happens during the absence of the *gei-khoib*, it may not be lit except by the latter himself. This he does with fire from the */ou-/ais*. The */ou-/ais* is attended to by the *gei-khois* and under normal circumstances is never allowed to die. A large log is always placed upon it before the chief and his wife will leave camp for any length of time. Should it go out during their absence and the other fires remain burning he, and only he, may kindle it with fire from the *hei-/ais* or from the other huts. In the unlikely event of all the fires having become extinguished during the absence of the inhabitants, no fires may be kindled until the return of the *gei-khoib*. If in such an eventuality he has gone far and is not expected to be home soon, his people will approach a neighbouring *gei-khoib* with whom they are on friendly terms and the latter will come and make a fire under the */hei*s with the *hei-doros*. On the return of their own chief, however, all the fires will be put out and a new */ou-/ais* kindled by him by means of the hei-doros.

372 *hei-doros*: The new *!ou-/ais* now serves to supply the other members of the group. At times it may happen that all the members of the community may not be living in the *//gāus* 361 (camp), but in some outside werft. This is usually the case [32] only in times of drought when the game have moved far afield 622 and great difficulty is being experienced in obtaining veldkos. 372 Further, people driven out by another group and seeking protection are sometimes allowed to live some distance away from the *//gāus*. Such communities are not allowed to make their own fire or to obtain it from any other source, but the *!ou-/ais* of the *gei-khoib* in whose territory they are living. 372 Persistent ill-health among the members of the community 622 or difficulty in obtaining veldkos or want of luck in the chase [751] may cause the *gei-khoib*, either of his own accord or after 771 consultation with his people, to proclaim that it is necessary to make a new fire. In such an event all fires, including the *!ou-/ais* are extinguished by being covered over with ashes. The *gei-khoib* at the same time notifies all outside camps of his decision and the latter likewise extinguish their fires. He then kindles a new *!ou-/ais* in front of his hut with the hei-doros and applies *norab* and *dabas* in the manner described above. The new fire is not made on the same spot as the old fire, but a few feet away from the place on which it had been. 184 The custom of kindling and maintaining a perpetual fire is 372 met with among all the organised primitive groups. Want of space and time does not permit, however, of a detailed account being given of the superstitions which have gathered about this custom among the various tribes.

Family Life

593 Each family within the group occupies its own hut. Children sleep with their parents until they are strong enough to go about by themselves, when the boys join the others under the tree and the girls take up residence in the hut for unmarried girls.

512 The women rise early, light the fire and prepare the food for the morning meal which usually consists of veldkos. After having eaten, the men go out visiting or hunting or engage in some other occupation such as preparing skins, weapons, etc. The women accompany each other in search of veldkos and go out soon after the men have left. When food is obtainable at no great distance they are usually back in camp towards midday. When they have to go far they may not reach home until late in the afternoon. Wood is collected on their way back. Immediately after their return they proceed to prepare food, the younger married women and young girls in the meantime fetching water. The food is ready by the time the men arrive in the evening and the latter are able to partake of it without delay.

462 There is a sharp division of labour between the men and women of the group. The former do the hunting and snaring of game, prepare the weapons, skins for clothing, snares, fire-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

609 pering in the grass near by. You can tell by these werfs that
621 there are Bushmen in an area, and also by their footprints on narrow trails which they share with the game and which run all through the desert. You may find footprints or you
[37] may see a little pile of white ash, the fire that a Bushman kindled where he spent the night. Otherwise, to find them you must depend on luck or on the fact that the Bushmen of an area may have heard something good about you and will not be too afraid.

105 Culturally and historically, the Bushmen are an interesting people, for they and the Hottentots, who belong to the same racial and language groups, are the earliest human inhabitants still living in southern Africa. There are now from thirty
[16] to fifty thousand Bushmen, who are divided into several language groups. Their languages are related to each other and
[17] to the Hottentot language, and are in what is known as the Khoisan language group, made up of most of the click languages spoken in South Africa. A click language has sharp pops and clicks made with the tongue in various parts of the mouth, combined with an implosion of the breath, very diffi-
[19] cult to understand, harder still to pronounce, as the slightest mistake may change the meaning of a word entirely. For example, the work *//kx'a*, which in one of the Bushman languages means *mangetti*, a certain kind of nut-bearing tree, is pronounced by making a lateral click for which the tongue is pulled sharply away from the sides of the mouth, producing the click one makes when calling a horse, followed by a scraped *k* turning to a *g*, followed by a glottal stop—a slight pause or tiny choking sound made as the back of the tongue stops the breath—which is followed at last by the vowel. To make a mistake is easy, and that is why non-Bushmen have a hard time learning the language, and why, when they do learn, they are often misunderstood.

9:.Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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Kung

dren to the farms. The mothers and the children had never returned.

The farmer who had taken the Chuana couple's son had offered him food and clothes but no wages. When his mother had refused to let him go, the farmer had told her that she herself would have to leave Gam and move to Bechuanaland (there has always been a dispute about the border between the two countries, which affects the Chuana people who try to move across). The woman, assuming that the farmer was a government official, had been too frightened by this threat to prevent her son from leaving. She had been building a large new house, even planning to put a pane of glass in the little window, but she had been too discouraged to finish it, believing that she would have to leave it soon.

It was extremely sad to sit there talking about such things. The Chuana man held his head in his hands and his wife was almost crying, and it seemed very empty and lonely there on the hot gray ground with flies all around us in the air and birds flying above.

When we went back to our camp it was already dark and we found that Lazy Kwi, his wife, and all her family had moved in beside us to be near us. They seemed rather cheerful because they were all together, and they expressed their optimism by burning an entire log. This is prodigal for Bushmen, who usually burn just one small stick at a time, or at most the end of a small log, letting the fire work up the log by inches. The people sat with their legs stretched out, allowing the fire to warm them, and in the firelight their skins seemed blood red, all except Lazy Kwi, whose skin was as dark as the night. Lazy Kwi was always changing color. When we first had met him we had thought he must be the darkest-skinned Bushman anywhere, but this was only so because he had rubbed himself all over with medicine paste and the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

513 That night it was so cold that no one wanted to leave the fire and when finally everyone was at my camp, settled close to each other, side by side, with their bellies warmed by the heat and their shoulders covered by their capes, their backs 521 turned against the enormous veld where the cold wind blew and where the dark was coming, they began to entertain themselves with conversation, their favorite pastime.

516 The adults held their elbows on their raised knees and cupped their hands under their chins to cast little shadows into their eyes, for in this way they could see clearly over the bright fire. Close to the fire even the children were not cold. The older children sat up like the adults, although they were naked and the adults had capes, and the younger children slept in their parents' arms, warm between the fire and their parents' skin.

136 Before the darkness had come totally I left the fire to look through the little forest for wood, and as soon as I was off among the trees a way I was quite alone; I could not see the firelight and the voices did not reach me, and as I walked around in the frost and the gloom I could hear my footsteps crackling the grass. When I stopped walking to pick up an icy stick I could still hear the grass crackling, and when I looked around I saw, not too far away, a pair of mongooses, a male and a female, with five little ones. They were eating seeds from the pods of a plant and when they saw me they ran, all in an orderly line, and when they were gone the forest seemed very empty, for I could see through the trees to the desolate plains beyond, and up through the branches to the sky, where stars were showing, far away. A partridge rose in front of me—I had chased it from its bed. I could hear it calling as it flew, lost out in the veld now, and when I had a 313 bundle of sticks I found my way home.

372 Dikai had been out for sticks in the opposite direction and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

when we looked at the pile we had, we judged that we had enough for the night, but we burned only one at a time to save them.

For a while, sitting at the fire, everyone was quite gay. The adults began to talk about food they had gathered and eaten and Toma's children asked me to tell them a story. "A true story," they said. Casting about in my mind for a story that would amuse them, I remembered a night when we were camped on our way to the Gikwe Bushmen in Bechuanaland and six lions had come into our camp. Someone in our party had shot at them and had wounded two of them, and then we had followed the wounded ones on foot through the darkness, a dangerous business, had finally found one and killed it, and had found the other one dead in the morning. I tried to say all this in Kung, but though I could understand quite a bit of it and could speak on some subjects, this time I found that my vocabulary was lacking; all I could say was "We killed two lions," a terse statement, and though the children were looking at me wide-eyed, I couldn't go on and had to get John to finish the story. "Ah," said the children when the story was told, not nearly as impressed as I had thought they would be, but then I myself had seen their father walk through a valley where several lions were roaring, at night, alone, armed only with a spear, depending on his wits for safety and on the fact that lions have a musky odor. He had been in our camp on one side of the valley when he had heard the lions roaring, and had slipped across among them in order to be with his wife and children, asleep on the other side.

Crooked Kwi, his wife, and his daughter had all turned away from the fire to warm their backs. They sat in a row, Kwi first, then the baby, then his wife. They were relaxed and they had let their heads tilt back to look at the sky. Crooked Kwi and his wife were very young, and, being one of the few

11: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

FIRE IS MADE, *below*, with a drill. Upright stick is rolled between palms, one end socketed in another piece of wood.

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[p. 60]

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[For the text of the myth of how people received fire from the Great God ǂGao! na, see category 539.]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

776 782 In spite of their reluctance to say the gods' names in serious discussion, the /Kung say them in blasphemy. (The word for cursing or blasphemy is *za*. Cursing is also called 'mouth-medicine'.) The medicine men curse the gods when they are combating their evil intents in the curing ceremony. A light-hearted blasphemy also occurs among the /Kung, as among ourselves, and the names slip from men's mouths in an insouciant way, as though they did not really mean them, as we say 'God Almighty!' or 'Jesus Christ!' in our inconsequential swearing.

I wondered if we should find that certain names were more closely associated with certain phenomena, like lightning or rain, or with special functions, such as presiding over childbirth, but all my inquiries on this theme led me to the conclusion that the names do not have such associations. There appears to be, however, a vague tendency, though not a strict rule, to associate some names more with benefaction, others more with ill treatment of the people. *Gani ga*, which is a very respectful name, seemed to come to mind when they wanted to show that they were well disposed towards the god and wanted to thank him or ask him sweetly to help them. */Gara* and *≠Gaishi ≠gai* we heard spoken in anger. They are 'scolding' names. One man used *Hwwe* when he spoke of the greatness and power of the god, saying '*Hwwe* was the tallest of the Bushmen, a great man with many names', and *Hishe* was the name used when the creator said, 'I am *Hishe*. I am unknown.' *Kxo* was not often uttered. The name *//Gauwa* will be discussed later.

Two Images of *≠GAO/NA*

≠Gao/na, *the Protagonist of the Old Tales*

776 539 *≠Gao/na*, we were told, was the oldest name of the great god. Through that name the /Kung identify the great god with an old *≠Gao/na*, the protagonist of many ancient tales. Some sense of logical necessity, I believe, compelled the /Kung to merge the two concepts so that they say, when they are asked, that the *≠Gao/na* of the tales and the great god are the same being, but this is a forced and superficial verbal resolution, for the two beings could hardly be more different. The people, I believe, really imagine them as different, and behave in quite a different manner as they speak of them. They tell the tales of the old *≠Gao/na*'s doings without restraint, [522] say his name aloud, howl and roll on the ground with laughter at his humiliations, whereas, when they speak of the great one in the east, they whisper and avoid his name. Yet they think that somehow in the rightness of things these two beings must be one, so one they are said to be.

The old *≠Gao/na* was a kind of culture hero. He had supernatural powers. He could change himself into other forms and could change people into animals, bring people back to life, &c. He was a great magician, with powers over magic substances and objects. But, although he gave fire to mankind, he could not be called a great [372] benefactor of mankind. He wanted fire for himself because he liked cooked food and gave the fire to man rather as an afterthought. He was not very much concerned with man or with man's morals. He was not the death-giver, involved in the mysterious inevitable necessity of death, or a wrathful punisher, like Jehovah. Such vengeance as he took was not a mighty vengeance but only a getting back at those who tricked [266] him. And usually his reason for killing someone was his own hunger. In those olden days, according to the tales, people were always eating one another or parts of one

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On the Move A Bushman hangs his possessions on a carrying stick and thrusts his assegai under the stick in back to distribute the weight onto both shoulders.

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462 When the people go to gather mangettis or tsi, the men always accompany the women and help to gather and to carry the heavy loads—as much as they possibly can—back to the water hole.

Though the men help, especially with *tsi* and mangettis, gathering and digging are the work of women and the work that takes up the greater portion of their energy and time throughout their lives. Their digging implement is a sharpened, unweighted stick about three feet long. When we were living with the Gautscha bands at the Gautscha water hole in the dry season, the women went to gather every day or every second or third day, depending on the distance and on how much food they could carry back. They would plan which patch or fertile area to go to and start out in small groups, some to one place, some to another. They would walk five or ten or fifteen miles to their destination and then pick berries or dig roots, which may lie two feet or more under the ground, until the mid-afternoon, and then start back to the werf (campsite) at the water hole. They carry their infants tied to them, small children on their shoulders, and the loads of veldkos in the bulges of their karosses (skin capes). When they near the werf, they pick up two or three logs for the night fires.

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The veldkos that each woman gathers belongs to her and with it she feeds her own family, sharing with whatever relative or friend she wishes. Custom does not require her to share it in a systematic way with others as meat must be shared. She cooks her veldkos in the coals and hot ashes, pounds fibrous roots and hard berries in her mortar, and serves the food to her family as a family meal, usually in the evening. During the day, however, people may cook and eat little snacks at odd times.

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731 Although there are numerous kinds of veldkos, we must not give the impression that there is a great abundance. In fact, the opposite is true. Food is scarce all over the arid Kalahari, where drought is the scourge on all—the cattle raisers, the dry farmers, and the gatherers of the wild foods.

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[582] There has been much intermarriage in the Nyae Nyae region. Families therefore may have close relatives—with whom they have the right to live—

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A Bridal Scherm The groom, to the right, and the bride, to the left, are with companions. This scherm is a particularly well-built specimen of the Bushman house.

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digging stick in a crescent curve, and tamps the branches into them. She weaves the branches together at the top and perhaps ties a few with fiber cord. This makes a frame half a hemisphere in shape, four to five feet wide on its open side, three to four feet deep, and perhaps five feet high at the peak. The woman then lays armloads of grass against the branches.

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The fire, not the scherm, is the visible symbol of home for a !Kung family. Summer and winter, each nuclear family has its own fire. The families cover their coals with ash during the day and fan them up for cooking. Toward evening, men and women go to the veld to gather wood and bring back whole dead trees, enough to keep their fires burning brightly all night.

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The werf is the group of fires of all the families in the band. A !Kung werf has no fixed pattern of orientation except to cluster closely together. With all space around them, the band with whom we lived—Band I of Gautscha, consisting of thirty-two persons with eight family fires—usually huddled into a place roughly forty to fifty feet by about twenty. The light and warmth of their fires together wall them in from infinity and darkness and protect them from predators.

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The !Kung never return to a werf they have once abandoned. They come season after season all during their lives to the same water holes and veldkos areas, but always choose a fresh spot to make a new settlement.

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ARTIFACTS • The artifacts of the !Kung are simple and few but well made and well cared for. These people use stone only for sharpening metal blades,

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The Ceremonial Curing Dance A medicine man is going into a trance.

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to cast the sickness out, hurling it into the darkness back to */Gauwa* or the */gauwasi*, who are there beyond the firelight, with a sharp, yelping cry of "*kai kai kai.*"

The medicine men are usually only in shallow trance at this point, but, when the curing has been going on for some time, they begin to reach a state of patterned frenzy. They no longer go around to the people, their spasms of grunting and shrieking become more frequent and violent, their stomachs heave, they stagger and sway. They rush to the fire, trample it, pick up the coals, set fire to their hair. They believe that fire activates the medicine in them. People hold them to keep them from falling and beat out the flames. The medicine men rush out into the darkness, where */Gauwa* and the */gauwasi* are lurking. They hurl burning sticks and swear at them. "Filthy face!" they screech. "Take away the sickness you have brought. You are bad. You want to kill us. Go away. . . . *Hishe*, you are a liar. This man will not die." At this point the medicine man may fall down in deep trance and appear to be unconscious or semiconscious, with eyes closed, stiff as a board, unable to walk. This stage of trance may last only a brief time or may continue for hours—even into the next day. Gradually it is resolved and the medicine man takes up his normal activities.

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The !Kung believe that at the time of deep trance the medicine man's spirit leaves his body and goes out to meet */Gauwa* and the */gauwasi*. They call this "half death." It is a dangerous time. The women must continue to sing the medicine music. The man's body must be watched over, rubbed, and kept warm by other medicine men who are in less deep trance.

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The violence and excitement of the ceremony have the effect, as in a

[p. 272]

412 The women possess several other tools which are of subsidiary importance in the food quest:

- wooden mortar and pestle
- wooden spatula for moving ashes
- carved wooden serving spoon
- tortoise shell bowl
- bundle of tail feathers for fanning the cooking fire
- pottery containers of Bantu manufacture
- iron pots and enamel bowls of European manufacture.

415 177 224 411 The mens' hunting kit represents the most evolved sector of Bushmen technology. It includes at least 19 different tools made from seven kinds of raw materials. The primary weapons include:

[177] [278] [231]

1. bow
2. arrow poison
3. spear
4. springhare probe
5. knobkerrie(club)
6. iron tipped arrows
7. quiver
8. hunting dogs
9. rope snares

Secondary weapons include:

[312] [177] [412] [283] [177]

10. fire drill
11. flint and steel fire making kits
12. digging stick
13. iron knife
14. iron adze-axe
15. carrying yoke
16. knotted net

000 Shaw et al. 1963, Story 1964:93).

224 411 The !Kung weaponry consists of specialized weapons for killing, retrieving, and preparing different species of game. The bow and arrow are used to kill only the large antelopes, kudu, wildebeeste and gemsbok. The thirteen-foot-long burrow probe is used exclusively for hooking springhare [223] which sleep in their burrows during the day time. Rope snares are set to trap small buck such as duiker and steenbok, as well as the game birds such as guinea fowl, francolin and 224 korhaan. Fire is used in two ways. First it is used to smoke • 372 out or asphyxiate wart hog, antbear and porcupine that have [412] been cornered in burrows. If an animal dies in the burrow, it is then dug out by means of a digging stick. Fire is also used during late winter to set bush fires. These fires burn off the old cover of vegetation and encourage new growth which will attract game animals to the burned area.

224 411 [231] The spear is not used as a weapon of attack, but is employed to finish off animals that have been weakened by poisoned arrows or that have been wounded by the Bushmen dogs.

The knobkerrie(club) is also used to finish off wounded [223] or cornered animals. Occasionally it is used as a throwing [231] club to knock down small birds and squirrels. This appears to be more of a pastime than a serious technique since the animals knocked down this way are usually fed to the dogs or just cast aside.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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mountains in the west of Great Namaqualand.[1] Most of the Bushmen, however, now live in flat country, where such natural shelters are denied them. Wherever they stay for more than a couple of days, crude bush huts are put up by the women. These are usually erected within walking distance of a waterhole, about an hour or two away. The people never live at the water itself, for fear of frightening away the game, which is most easily shot or trapped when coming to drink.

Among the Heikum, according to Fourie, "When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who deposits his household and other effects on the place on which his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts."[2]

There seems to be as a rule no fixed form of settlement. All the families drinking at one waterhole may live in one group, or there may be several lots of huts scattered about in different directions. Among the Cape Bushmen, for example, one might find three or four huts standing together, or several huts dotted about within a radius of a few miles from the water, and the same appears to be true of the Naron.[3]

Among the Heikum, however, the camp is said to be laid out on a definite plan.[4] As a rule all the members of the band live in a common encampment or "werft" (*//gaus*). The huts of the married families are placed at a certain interval apart, and arranged in the form of an irregular circle. At or near the middle of the camp is situated a large tree, known as the */heis*. The hut of the chief (*gei-khoib*) is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. The brother of the *gei-khoib* live immediately to his left on the south side of the *//gaus*, and beyond them are placed the other married families of the community. The right or north side of the *//gaus* is reserved entirely for visiting sisters of the *gei-khoib* and their families, while any of his married daughters who may be visiting him erects her hut directly opposite to his at the furthest extremity of the camp. "This is done on account of the parent-in-law taboo (*tao-sas*) which

[1] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166. [3] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[2] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. viii; *idem*, *The Naron*, 4.
[4] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 30–2; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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exists among the *Hei-//om* in common with other Bushman tribes." Within the circle of huts towards the south is the hut of the adolescent young girls, and towards the north that of the adolescent young men; mature marriageable young women occupy huts next to those of their parents in the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also visitors from any neighbouring group, live outside the circle of married people. The dancing place is to the west within the circle.

"The large tree (*!heis*) in or near the centre of the *//gaus* is reserved as a meeting place for men for ceremonial and other purposes. Women are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. To this, however, there is one exception, namely, the wife (*gei-khois*) of the *gei-khoib* may go to it to obtain fire for kindling the principal fire (*!ou-|ais*) or for other menial purposes when required by her husband. With the exception of the chief nobody is permitted to live in close proximity to this *!heis*. Under it is made the first fire (*!hei-|ais*) on the establishment of a new *//gaus* and underneath it is deposited, for distribution, all meat killed in the chase."[1]

Fourie speaks of this camp arrangement as being present among all the Bushmen in the northern parts of South-West Africa,[2] but the only confirmation for this statement is given by Vedder, who just hints at a similar arrangement of the camp among the Kung. "Where several families live together," he says, "the huts are ranged in a circle, the head of the group ("Dorfälteste") living in the east."[3]

Each family within the group has its own hut. Where the families are polygynous, the wives may live together in the same hut if they get on well; otherwise each will build herself a separate hut. Children sleep with their parents until strong enough to go about by themselves. The bigger boys and young bachelors sometimes share a hut together, but generally they sleep out in the open under a tree, and only in very wet weather will their mothers in co-operation build them a hut. Unmarried girls too old to sleep with their parents also share a separate hut. An old widower may live alone, or with a boy; a widow and her little children, where they do not live alone, are generally quartered with the girls.[4]

The huts themselves (Plate VI) are somewhat crude, consisting as a rule merely of a semicircular shelter of branches planted into

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 52. [2] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[3] "Grammatik der !Ku-Buschmannsprache," 6.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 4–5; Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 51; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 138.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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Cooking

252 is done chiefly by the women, assisted by the children; in exceptional
[462] cases the men also may cook. Wild cucumbers, nuts, bulbs, and similar plant foods are baked in hot ashes covered with cinders. A bright fire is made and allowed to die down, a hole is scraped in the ashes with a flat, paddle-shaped wooden scoop, the food put in and covered over. It is then eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge, after being pounded up in wooden mortars or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood. Birds, snakes, small antelopes, etc., are baked in the same manner; ants are similarly treated, and then sifted through a mat of loosely-woven reeds, while locusts are either baked or boiled. *Grewia* berries are sometimes eaten as picked, stone and all, sometimes stamped in the mortar and swallowed uncooked. Some specially dainty kinds of meat are roasted over the fire on a wooden spit stuck into the ground. Other kinds of meat, again, as well as stamped
[439] locusts, *tsama* seeds and foods obtained from the white man, such as mealie meal, are cooked with water.

The "tame" Bushmen now use any sort of receptacle, such as a
415 paraffin or paint tin, for cooking purposes; the Auen and Naron
[439] in their more primitive condition used wooden pots, made by themselves or obtained by barter; while among the more Northern tribes clay pots obtained by barter from the OvaMbo and other Bantu tribes are sometimes found. The actual manufacture of clay pots by the
[184] Bushmen themselves seems to have been restricted to the tribes
[323] south of the Molopo. Food is eaten direct from the pot or from plates
[264] and bowls made of wood. Wooden spoons are sometimes found among the Northern tribes, but generally either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Fire is everywhere made by drilling a thin hard stick in another,
372 somewhat softer, in which there is a notch (Plate IX). This second stick is held firmly on the ground by one foot, while the drill-stick with its lower end pressed into the notch, is twirled rapidly between the hands until sparks come. A little dry grass is in readiness to catch the spark, and when it has caught alight dry wood is gradually added until a good fire has been set going.

In this connection reference must be made to certain special
372 observances relating to fire which have recently been recorded by
622 Fourie about the Heikum. "All fire," he says,[1] "is the property of the chief. The first fire kindled by him is regarded as essential to the welfare of the community. Every man and woman knows how to

[1] Op. cit., 87,

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use the firesticks, but will not, and may not, light a fire with them in the werft, as firemaking is a matter of serious import and the chief is the only person who is able to bring forth from it the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off misfortune. The first fire kindled in a new camp is never allowed to die out."

As an illustration he cites[1] the practices existing among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan. Here, when it becomes necessary to move camp, as for example after a death has taken place, the whole community takes up all its goods and chattels, and, led by the *gei-khoib* (chief), sets off in search of a new site to be selected by the latter. Having found a suitable one he places his belongings on the spot on which his own hut is to be erected. His followers, passing on his left, take up suitable places for their huts in like manner. ." The chief then proceeds to the large tree (*/heis*) in the centre and kindles a fire underneath it by means of the firedrill (*hei-doros*). Fire from the old encampment or any other source may not be used for this purpose. He next applies *tnorab* and *dabas* to the fire by scraping the roots of these plants with his knife over it and, after having done so, lights his pipe with it. This first fire or fire under the tree (*hei-/ais*) is next used by his wife (*gei-khois*) for lighting the fire in front of his hut (*/ou-/ais*). The fire is now free for use by the members of the whole group. The men may come and light their pipes from the *hei-/ais* and the women may fetch fire from the */ou-/ais* for kindling their own. Thereafter the latter may proceed with the erection of the huts. Should the *hei-/ais* go out, as sometimes happens during the absence of the *gei-khoib*, it may not be lit except by the latter himself. This he does with fire from the */ou-/ais*. The */ou-/ais* is attended to by the *gei-khois* and under normal circumstances is never allowed to die. A large log is always placed upon it before the chief and his wife will leave camp for any length of time. Should it go out during their absence and the other fires remain burning he, and only he, may kindle it with fire from the *hei-/ais* or from the other huts. In the unlikely event of all the fires having become extinguished during the absence of the inhabitants, no fires may be kindled until the return of the *gei-khoib*. If in such an eventuality he has gone far and is not expected to be home soon, his people will approach a neighbouring *gei-khoib* with whom they are on friendly terms and the latter will come and make a fire under the */heis* with the *hei-doros*. On the return of their own chief, however, all the fires will be put out and a new */ou-/ais* kindled

[1] Op. cit., 87–8; cf. *idem*, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 52–3.

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372 622 by him by means of the *hei-doros*. The new */ou-/ais* now serves to supply the other members of the group. At times it may happen that all the members of the community may not be living in the *//gaus* 361 (camp), but in some outside werft. This is usually the case only in 221 times of drought when the game has moved far afield and great 672 difficulty is being experienced in obtaining veldkos. Further, people 622 driven out by another group and seeking protection are sometimes allowed to live some distance away from the *//gaus*. Such communities are not allowed to make their own fire or to obtain it from any other source, but the */ou-/ais* of the *gei-khoib* in whose territory they are living.

622 372 "Persistent ill-health among the members of the community or difficulty in obtaining veldkos or want of luck in the chase may cause the *gei-khoib*, either of his own accord or after consultation with his people, to proclaim that it is necessary to make a new fire. In such an event all fires, including the */ou-/ais*, are extinguished by being covered over with ashes. The *gei-khoib* at the same time notifies all outside camps of his decision and the latter likewise extinguish their fires. He then kindles a new */ou-/ais* in front of his hut with the *hei-doros* and applies */norab* and *dabas* in the manner described above. The new fire is not made on the same spot as the old fire, but a few feet away from the place on which it has been."

114 372 622 "The custom of kindling and maintaining a perpetual fire," Fourie goes on to say, "is met with among all the organized primitive groups" of Bushmen in South-West Africa. The only previous information hinting at observances of this kind is found in a curt statement by Kaufmann that among the Auen the "captain" of a village sees to it that the fire does not go out. But he adds that there is no "sacred" fire, and attributes the guarding of the fire against extinction to the practical inconveniences of the method employed in making it.[1] Quite recently, however, Lebzelter has reported the occurrence of similar observances among the Kung, although his remarks on the subject are very scanty. He states merely that the Kung, like the Bergdama, have the sacred fire round which only the men may sit. "When the camp is moved," he concludes, "the head of the group takes with him a brand from this fire"[2]—presumably to use it for

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 139: "Der 'Kapitän' (Aichab) der Werft achtet darauf, dass das Feuer nicht ausgeht. Ein 'heiliges' Feuer ist nicht vorhanden. Die Bewahrung des Feuers vor dem Verlöschen geschieht lediglich aus praktischen Gründe, da das Feuerquirlen immerhin ziemlich anstrengend ist."

[2] "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 14: "Wie die Honigkaffern haben auch die !Kuñ das Sochafeuer. Es ist dies das heilige Feuer, bei dem nur die Manner sein dürfen. Wenn die Werft übersiedelt, dann nimmt das Werftoberhaupt einen Feuerbrand mit Sochafeuer mit."

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lighting a new fire at the next encampment, although this is a practice which, as we have just seen, Fourie explicitly denies for the Heikum.

There is no indication at all in the available literature that similar usages relating to fire are found among the rest of the Bushmen, nor is there any further evidence of their occurrence among the tribes mentioned above. On the other hand the sacred fire also plays a very conspicuous part in the social and ritual life of the OvaHerero, OvaMbo, and Bergdama, all of them close neighbours of the Bushmen tribes among whom it is found, and with the last two of whom the Heikum at least have intermixed considerably. It is probable therefore that the special observances relating to fire among the Heikum and the Kung may represent borrowed elements of culture; but much fuller information is needed about them before this can be definitely asserted. Whatever their origin, however, these usages now obviously play an important part in the social life of the people. In particular, the fact that at the present time the chief of the band has certain exclusive functions in connection with fire is of outstanding significance in the whole sphere of public life, and one which cannot be dismissed merely because it may be due to the effects of contact with other peoples. To this point we shall have to return when discussing the political institutions of the Bushmen.

Special Usages relating to Food

There is not much information available about food taboos, but it appears that, in some of the tribes at least, certain foods are forbidden to persons at different stages of life. In the texts obtained by Dr. Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen there are preserved the details of some of the food taboos prevalent among this people. Thus little children were not allowed to eat the heart of the jackal (on account of this animal's great timidity), certain portions of the ostrich, or the tip of the springbok's tail; a menstruating girl might not eat game killed by the young men, lest she bring them ill luck—she had to eat only game taken by her father; a certain kind of tortoise was forbidden to young unmarried men and women, for fear of arousing the wrath of the rain; women were not allowed to eat the flesh of the lynx; the tail of the porcupine was forbidden to certain (unspecified) persons; while all refrained from eating a certain small portion of the flesh of the hare.[1] The published information relating

[1] L. C. Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 23; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, cf. references in Index, s.v. "Food—not to be eaten."

on the ground under the */heis* either on sticks which were used in carrying it or on branches. The *gei-khoib* (chief) now comes forward and if he finds that the */hei-/ais* (fire under the tree) has gone out he returns to his hut, brings fire and wood and re-lights it. If he is absent when the meat is brought in he is immediately sent for, the meat in the meantime being hung on the */heis* (tree in centre of camp). After having kindled the fire the *gei-khoib* instructs one of the men—the one who has shot the animal is excluded from doing any work—to open the bones and collect the marrow. The blood and the marrow are placed on the fire in separate pots and at the same time some of the meat for the men is also cooked. As soon as the latter is ready for eating the *gei-khoib* removes a piece from the pot and 'tastes' (*tsa-tsa*) it. This is done by holding it between the teeth and fingers and cutting off and eating a morsel or two. The meat is now safe for the members of his group to eat. The cooked meat is then pounded with a stone, teased between the fingers and thrown into the pot containing the blood. The melted marrow is next stirred into the mixture of blood and meat. The resulting dish is known as */koms*.

"All meat killed with bow and arrow is *saxa* [taboo] and may not be partaken of until it has been tasted by the *gei-khoib*. The liver, however, is eaten by the men immediately after the animal has been cut up and is thus excluded from the scope of the *saxa* as far as men are concerned, but to the women it is *saxa*. All parts of the animal are eaten, but certain categories of people may eat only certain prescribed portions of the animal, the rest of the meat being *saxa* to them. For example, the wife of the man who killed the animal is entitled to the superficial covering of meat and fat of the hind quarters, the entrails and the trotters (*/ei-ti*). Her portion is known as the */noe-di* and is the only meat which may be partaken of by women. The */noe-di* is shared by her with the other women, including the */kham-khoidi* (adolescent girls) and with the young children. The */noe-di*, however, may not be eaten until the *gei-khoib* has tasted the meat. It is cut on the spot where the carcass was found by the person who shot the animal and handed over to the latter's wife after arrival at the *//gaus*. It is not brought under the */heis*. It is cooked by the wife of the hunter on the fire in front of her hut after which the other women come and get their portions and eat it in their own huts. The */kham-khoidi* obtain their meat from their respective mothers, as also do young children still living with their parents. If women partake of any other meat than the */noe-di*, the poison of the arrow will not act when an

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224 262 animal has been shot. The meat which may be eaten by the *axarogu* (youths) is known as */om-//gani*, and includes the flesh of the abdominal wall, kidneys, etc., and the genital organs such as udder, testicles, 224 etc. It is prepared by the *axarogu* themselves over their own fire at 252 the *axarogudi /gaos* (young men's hut). The person who shot the 262 animal receives the ribs and shoulder blade of one side. He may prepare his portion either under the */heis* or over his own fire. The ribs must be cooked and the shoulder blade roasted because they taste better when done in this manner. The rest of the meat is *soxa* to him, and if he eats any other part, e.g. the */koms*, he will not meet with success in hunting because the poison will weaken and refuse to act. The parts of the animal which go to the *gei-khoib* are known as the *so-eis* and include portions of about two finger-breadths in size from each quarter, from each side of the back and one rib from each side. These are strung on a thong or cord and hung up for his sole use. *So-eis* [574] may, however, be shared by him with a visiting *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* receives her share from the */noe-di*. The *gei-khoib* may also partake of the meat for the remainder of the men called the *so-//gani*, [264] under which is included the */koms*. The latter may be eaten only under the */heis*. After it has been prepared each man brings his wooden bowl or other receptacle and helps himself. Any man whose wife is [841] menstruating will, however, not partake of the */koms* as it contains blood. The rest of the meat is divided among the men by the *gei-khoib*, and is prepared and eaten at their huts.

"A similar procedure is adopted in connection with meat killed by 224 the members of an outlying *//gaus*, the *gei-khoib* likewise having to 262 taste it before it may be partaken of. He may either proceed to the 622 *//gaus* concerned, or if the distance to be travelled is considerable, all the meat will be brought to his *//gaus*. In all such cases the *so-eis* is brought to him by the messenger sent to notify him of the kill. When he visits a *//gaus* for this purpose he kindles the */hei-/ais* with [372] fire from one of the huts, and, after having tasted the meat, returns to his own."

114 Apart from the light it throws upon certain functions of the chief, 224 this account illustrates admirably both the existence of special ritual [622] observances in regard to game killed in the chase, and the fact that food obtained in this way is shared among all the people present at the encampment. This latter feature has also been noted by other writers on the different Bushman tribes,[1] and it can safely be asserted

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 55; Kaufmann, op. cit., 115–6 D. F. Bleek, *The Maxis*, pp. viii–ix; *idem*, *The Naron*, 16.

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821 The first appearance of this star in the evening sky is also the occasion for the performance of a certain ceremony. In the words of Dr. Bleek's informant, "The Bushmen perceive Canopus, they say to a child: 'Give me yonder piece of wood, that I may put (the end of) it (in the fire), that I may point (it) burning (towards) grandmother; for, grandmother carries Bushman rice; grandmother shall make a little warmth for us; for she coldly comes out; the sun shall warm grandmother's eye for us." About the same time as Canopus, Sirius appears, and a similar ceremony takes place; the man who first saw the star is asked to "burn (a stick) for us (towards) Sirius; that the sun may shining come out for us; that Sirius may not coldly come out". He holds the end of the stick in the fire until it has caught alight, and then points it towards the star, moving it up and down quickly. "He sings; he sings (about) Canopus, he sings (about) Sirius; he points to them with fire, that they may twinkle like each other. He throws fire at them. He covers himself up entirely (including his head) in (his) kaross and lies down. He arises, he sits down; while he does not again lie down; because he feels that he has worked, putting Sirius into the sun's warmth; so that Sirius may warmly come out."[1] Both these stars appear in winter, hence the cold is connected with them. The ceremony just described is therefore almost certainly a warming incantation. It is said also that it will make the stars rise higher, for the higher they stand above the eastern horizon at sunrise, and the more brightly they twinkle, the more nearly winter draws to an end.

773 821 In the mythology the stars are held to have once been animals or people of the Early Race, in some cases people who had been transformed upon breaking some taboo. Many of the stars and constellations, as Dr. Bleek points out, bear names which they apparently owe only to the fact that they are seen at certain times when the animals or other objects whose names they bear come into season or are most abundant. This would suggest the close connection between them and the food supply. "Of course," he adds, "when such names as steinbok, hartebeest, eland, anteater, lion, tortoise, etc., had once become attached to certain stars or constellations, fancy might step in and try to discover the shapes of those animals (or other objects) in the configuration of the stars; whilst, at the same time, mythological personification would begin its work,

[1] *Bushman Folklore*, 338–41.

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and he eats their hearts; he has forbidden people to eat the hare and the ostrich; he makes thunder and lightning; and the stars are his hearth-fire. Often he takes a star and throws it at a man, then the latter dies—a belief held in slightly different form by the Eastern Kung also, who regard a shooting star as foreboding the death of someone. Mention is further made of the "Saviour" or bringer of blessings ("Heilbringer") *Heiseb* or *Iseb*, to whom belongs the "benefactress" *Ises*, who gave the bow and arrow to mankind.[1]

The name */gamab* is also found among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga under the form *xamaba*. Here, however, Lebzelter speaks of *xamaba* as "the Supreme Being" who has made all things, including mankind, and who sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, before a journey is undertaken, and in case of illness; he receives the souls of the dead in his house in the sky; he can be spoken to by the magicians, and he inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like. There is also an "evil spirit" *Heiseb*, "from whom comes the fire"; while in the bush there are said to be hobgoblins, */ga/ga hu*, but none of Lebzelter's informants had seen them, and their existence was doubted.[2]

In the Eastern Kalahari, again, *Huwe* and sometimes *Thora* are, according to Dornan, engaged in a contest with an "evil spirit" variously known as *Gaua*, *Khauna*, or *Gauna*. He is the destroyer, the one who sends bad luck and disease, and is ever on the look-out to injure people. The Bushmen invoke the aid of *Thora* to defeat his attempts to injure them. He sends the thunderstorm and the lightning, of which the people are very much afraid; they will mutter to themselves, *Khauna ka rue ie ie*, "Khauna leave us alone." They look upon the lightning as his offspring, nor will they kill the lightning bird or hammerkop (*Scopus umbretta*) or rob its nest if they can help it. "Once in the company of a Bushman," says Dornan, "I wanted to shoot one of these birds, but he said it would be bad, and that Khauna would not like it, so I desisted." If a person is struck by lightning, he is supposed to have got in the way of the lightning bird when trying to rob its nest. "The religion of the Kalahari Bushmen," concludes Dornan, "is thus a kind of dualism in which two powers, one good, Thora or Huwe, and one bad, Khauna, are engaged in a struggle for the mastery."[3]

The word *Gauna* (*//gauwa*), finally, crops up again among the

[1] Op. cit., 410. [3] Op. cit., 410–11.
[2] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 150, 153, 167–8.